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this trail along the face of the cliffs behind Catumbela may still be seen to-day.

I have noted how largely Brazil had absorbed the commerce of the colony. This was due in large part, of course, to the slave-trade, but it was also due to the fact that all foreign, i.e. non-Portuguese, ships were prohibited from having any part in the colony's trade, or even from entering its ports. This was an effort to keep all colonial trade for the motherland, and was quite in line with early colonial theory and practice. In this instance it served to enrich Brazil at the expense not only of Angola but also of Portugal itself, and it is rather strange that this ruinous policy should have persisted even after the separation of Brazil. In 1844 the two ports of Luanda and Benguela were opened to ships of all the world. Lopes de Lima remarks[1] that not only did foreign commerce flow in, but Portuguese commerce with the colony also increased greatly. It must not be supposed that Angola at once became a great example of Free Trade, for customs duties remained high. Only the first bars in the fence of monopoly were let down, but for that day it was a great step and it attracted trade.

In 1869 the first experimental export of raw rubber was made: a very small beginning of a very important movement.[2] The imminent importance of this export was not realized by 'the man on the spot'. In 1870 Silva Porto, tired of accusations of witch-craft by his Ovimbundu neighbours and of the increasing demands

a very truthful and realistic picture of conditions, of events, and of trends, errs in supposing that it was only with the opening of this 'new road' by Silva Porto that caravans from the interior began to come to Catumbela. Magyar, who went inland from Benguela in 1849, took the usual road via Catumbela. Even in 1795, when there was no town at Catumbela, but only a few vegetable farms, Teixeira and Mello started for the interior from there (*Annaes Mar. e Col.*, 1844, p. 159). Their itinerary in detail from Catumbela to Viye is not given, but only distances to Cisanji, to Civula, to Bailundu, and to Viye. Since their route was via Civula and Bailundu, rather than via Ciyaka and Wambu (Huambo), and therefore the route of Silva Porto's 'new' road, I am inclined to believe that the latter was probably a return to a route formerly used. Magyar gives a good description of the route via Ciyaka. The route via Bailundu has been described by scores of writers from Silva Porto through Cameron, the early missionaries (of the A.B.C.F.M.), Nevinson, *et al.*, down to 1910, when the road was abandoned for the Benguela Railway. There are now three motor roads from the Highland to the coast, but none of them follows the old slavers' route except in certain short sections.

[1] *Ensaios*, part i, pp. 78, 135.

[2] Bastos, op. cit., p. 24; *Boletim Official*, 1870 (Exports for 1869); *Benguella, Relatório do Districto de*, 1891, p. 29.

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for tribute and other exactions of King Konya Cilemo, successor to the stool of Viye, decided to leave his place at Belmonte (Viye) for Benguela,[1] where he remained for ten years. A year later Guilherme Gonçalves left to his sons his flourishing settlement near Kamundongo (Viye), and sailed for Lisbon, intending to stay indefinitely.[2] These two men were the leading traders established in the Highland, but little idea had they that the small trickle of rubber exports begun in 1869 would so soon inaugurate a new era in Central African trade. It was only in 1882 that rubber took even second place in the exports (after bees-wax),[3] but already in 1872[4] its importance was becoming evident, and by 1877 individual Ovimbundu of Viye had already turned over considerable fortunes in the trade.[5] Bastos seems to be correct in taking 1874 as the beginning of this new era in the trade of the region.[6] For the Ovimbundu, the preceding decades, indeed the preceding century or even centuries, had been a period of preparation for the trade which was now beginning. For them the rubber trade, from 1874 until its close in 1916, was the classical period of commercial activity.

The time of preparation had necessarily developed in the Ovimbundu the intellectual acumen, venturesomeness, a technique of co-operation both within their own social groupings and with outsiders, a knowledge of people, places, and things of their Central African world, together with the other qualities which enabled them to carry on their far-flung trading activities. These qualities merit a fuller description (q.v. *infra*, p. 206 f.). During this earlier period, since many of their travels were naturally exploratory, the Ovimbundu probably travelled more widely than during the time of the rubber trade. There were hardly any territories within the bounds of the Congo River, the Lakes, and the Kalahari Desert which they had not penetrated.[7] Some Ovimbundu went even farther afield as employees of European traders or on their own account. A ready example is Domingos Cakahanga and his companions who, in the employ of Silva Porto during the years

[1] *Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa, 5a Ser.*, p. 20.
[2] See Cameron, op. cit., p. 400.
[3] *Benguella*, op. cit., 1887, pp. 24 ff.
[4] *Benguella*, op. cit., 1892, p. 29.
[5] Serpa Pinto, op. cit., p. 161 f.
[6] Bastos, op. cit., p. 24.
[7] Serpa Pinto, op. cit., p. 164; L. Magyar, op. cit., pp. 298, 299. The best proof, however, is the fact of the geographical and tribal names found in the Umbundu lan[illegible]

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made, there as elsewhere throughout the Umbundu-speaking territory, their wholesale manufacture was only carried on in Ndulu. This was a natural specialization, for the best and most easily accessible deposits of iron ore are in the Ndulu country,[1] whose smiths have become justly famous. In exchange for hoes they received palm-oil or cattle from other regions, or salt, rum, or goods from the coast. Other regional specializations were—Kasongi and the Sele country for palm-oil, Cikuma for bees-wax (also obtained from the interior), cattle from Ngalangi, Kalukembe, Cilengi, and farther south. Ciyaka, Civula, and Bailundu took much corn-meal to the coast in those early days. 'Trade-agreements' were also made beyond the Umbundu-speaking area. At first these were strictly one-way affairs, allowing the Ovimbundu traders to operate in many lands, near and far, since this was to the advantage of the rulers of those lands. At the same time, the men from Bailundu and Viye did and said everything possible to discourage the interior peoples from venturing out on their own account.[2] Later, when the trade, as well as knowledge of the whites and their trade, spread, arrangements were made between the king of Viye and various interior chiefs allowing them to send their own caravans through to the coast, and gifts were exchanged periodically.[3]

Their very early introduction to articles of European use and manufacture has undoubtedly had great influence upon the development of the Ovimbundu. Their early and thorough familiarity with fire-arms certainly played a decisive role in their national formation and subsequent history. The introduction of domestic plants and animals from abroad is an important subject, but too broad for treatment at this time. The early introduction of European-manufactured goods has had profound influences.

[1] See article on smelting and smithing in Ndulu by F. W. Read in *Journal of the African Society*, 1902, pp. 44–9.

[2] Livingstone tells of the displeasure of the Ovimbundu ('Mambari') at meeting the Makololo near Luanda. The Ovimbundu tried to frighten them from trading with the whites with tall tales, making the whites out as impossibly clever magicians and wizards (op. cit., p. 384). Cameron and his east-coast carriers experienced the displeasure of Viye people owing to jealousy of the same sort, but no longer so openly expressed (op. cit., p. 406).

[3] The Muata-Yanvo of Lunda was one of those who had such a 'trade-agreement' with Viye. Silva Porto notes in his diary on 14 Jan. 1880 that an embassy from the Muata-Yanvo had arrived with a tusk of ivory for Cilemo (*Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 5a *Ser.*, p. 148).

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physical composition of the Ovimbundu themselves, and also their character and accepted attitudes. Livingstone told of the beginning of their trade with the Makololo in 1850, and how they had visited the Barotse 'in ancient times'.[1] These items fit into the picture of that early period of trading activities which is had from studying Umbundu traditional history in the light of documents such as Silva Porto's diaries, Magyar's account,[2] the historical monograph of Augusto Bastos, the comments of travellers,[3] and of the early missionaries.

Period of the Rubber Trade, 1874–1911. Turning now to the rubber trade, that time may conveniently be divided into three periods: from 1874 until 1886, during which only 'first-class' rubber (from the plants themselves)[4] was exported; from 1886, when the discovery of 'second-class' or 'red rubber' (from a root)[5] caused a great boom which lasted until 1900; and, finally, the period of decline until the rubber export stopped in 1916, though for the Ovimbundu it had already practically stopped several years earlier.

Of the older exports only bees-wax and ivory survived along with rubber. The former of these was somewhat neglected, while the importance of the latter continued in Benguela only until about 1893 when the frontier of the Congo was closed. Bastos remarks that after 1900 not a single tusk appeared.[6] Already in 1880 Silva Porto had to go beyond Lunda to the middle Kasai before he found ivory.[7] At that time most of the ivory trade was in the hands of Viye traders. Between 2 November 1879, when Silva Porto left Catumbela, and 26 November when he reached Belmonte (Viye), there passed him about forty caravans on their way to the coast. Of these, ten carried ivory, practically all of which

[1] D. Livingstone, op. cit., p. 91 f. The business-like methods of the Ovimbundu were commented upon later, see op. cit., p. 271.

[2] The picture which Magyar (*Reisen in Süd-Afrika*) gives of Umbundu life in that early period is very good, but for an understanding of many terms used a knowledge of Portuguese and Umoundu is quite necessary. His truthfulness with regard to the slave-trade must be questioned when confronted by evidence from Valdez, Monteiro, and especially from Bastos.

[3] Valdez, op. cit.; Monteiro, op. cit.; Graça, op. cit.; Serpa Pinto, op. cit.; Capello and Ivens, *From Benguella to the Territory of Yacca.*

[4] Principally *Landolphia*, which are big woody climbers; also the tall and stately *Funtumia elastica.* [5] Especially the *Carpodinus chylorrhiza.*

[6] Bastos, op. cit., p. 39. From this time until 1913 Angola continued to export ivory in ever-decreasing quantities, but from the port of Mossamedes and therefore not from the Umbundu country.

[7] *Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa, 6a Ser.*, pp. 189 f., 256.

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were from Viye,[1] since Viye was nearest to what was then the source of supply—Luva, Katanga, Barotze, &c. Caravans from other regions could and did pass through Viye, but they found it more economical and advantageous to go to other regions for other commodities. Bees-wax was to be found in most of the neighbouring regions and was brought to the coast by traders of all the Umbundu kingdoms. The same may be said of the 'first-class' rubber.[2] It was found chiefly in the forest regions of the interior, and the distance and consequent time involved made it a product hardly more profitable than bees-wax. Rubber was then simply one product along with the others, and until 1886 its export had its ups and downs.

Red Rubber, 1886–1900. In 1886 a caravan of Ovimbundu came down to Catumbela with loads of 'red rubber' for the first time. They had gotten it in the sandy country to the east of the Kuanza River, and a great deal nearer than the region of the 'first-class' rubber. At first, the price paid for this 'red rubber' was lower than for the other, but whereas a caravan could not procure loads of the first in less than eight months, the 'red rubber' could be gotten within three months.[3] Subsequently the red rubber was found to have certain superior qualities so that the higher price came to be paid for it. Immediately the export of rubber from Benguela increased enormously and reached undreamed-of totals.[4] Beeswax

[1] *Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 5a Ser., pp. 5, 6, 10, 16.

[2] There are very interesting summaries and descriptions of the commercial activities of the period—both native and European—in the *Relatorios do Districto de Benguella*, 1887, 1891 (Ministerio da Marinha e Ultramar, Lisboa, 1888, 1894).

[3] See a note in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1888, p. 450 f.

[4] The values of the three leading products exported from Benguela from 1886 to 1891 were as follows (from *Relatorios do Districto de Benguella*, 1887, 1891):

Product	*1886*	*1887*	*1888*
Rubber . .	65,210$153	286,937$018	664,786$870
Wax . . .	187,483$964	158,945$996	109,734$140
Ivory . . .	37,692$536	36,923$042	29,997$968

Product	*1889*	*1890*	*1891*
Rubber . .	665,746$552	781,057$860	1,042,112$070
Wax . . .	133,436$344	93,680$580	123,645$876
Ivory . . .	31,701$133	11,298$782	45,392$534

For further statistical reports of this period, see also *Portugal, Ministerio da Marinha e Ultramar, Relatório, Propostos de Lei*, &c. (Lisboa, 1899), p. 266 f.

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dropped off; of ivory there was no more. From 1893 on, says Bastos, rubber was practically the sole export of the District of Benguela and of its hinterland.[1] In 1891 more than one million milreis' worth of rubber was exported from Benguela, sixteen times as much as was exported only five years before, and three and one-half times the value of the *three* leading exports in 1886. Until 1891 this increase was not at the expense of other exports, but rather in addition to them.

All of this rubber, and the other exports as well, came to the coast in caravans of the Ovimbundu or their neighbours. In its inception and its great development it was an enterprise of the Ovimbundu. Everyone who was able to carry a load joined a caravan. It had always been the custom to take boys on trading expeditions, as young as they could go—say, from their tenth year—as a part of their education. Now girls were also taken and hardly any but the women stayed at home to raise the crops and provide rations for the caravans. European residents experienced great difficulty in securing necessary porters,[2] and this was one reason for finally putting through the wagon-road from Benguela to Caconda.[3] It was extended to Viye during the military campaign of 1890. The fever of the rubber trade reached into all the villages of the land and took in everyone able to travel. Mission schools had been established since 1881, but they had but few pupils until 1900. There were also other reasons for this, but a principal one was the attractiveness of the rubber trade.[4] Even the kings found it more difficult to gather armies for their wars: trade had become more attractive than the possibility of plunder.

Of all the kings who ruled the various Umbundu kingdoms during this time, the one who is best remembered is Ekuikui (II) of Bailundu (1876–93). Tradition has begun to ascribe to him and to his reign some things which properly belong to earlier

[1] Bastos, op. cit., p. 34. He does not include *serviçaes* in the exports, since they all went to the mainland or island plantations, but he remarks that at this time the price rose to even 90$000 (p. 33). The rise in price was perhaps due to the smaller supply owing to the preoccupation of the Ovimbundu with the rubber trade.

[2] See *Missionary Herald*, 1889, p. 350.

[3] *Benguella*, 1891, op. cit., p. 10.

[4] The reports of the governor of Benguela, to which reference has been made, also mentioned this fact, saying that although the American missions were intelligently directed, their results were small, since parents would not send their children to learn while they could pick up loads of rubber (1887, p. 19; 1891, p. 20).

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and the country settled down to the rule of 'the Fort' with Ndunduma's successor named by the captain-major. The occupation of Bailundu was effected at that same time,[1] while Ekuikui yet ruled, but for several years only a nominal force was employed.[2] In 1896 Ekuikui's successor, Numa II, attacked the fort, and the captain-major burned the *ombala*[3] in retaliation. From 1890 European traders settled in both Viye and Bailundu in ever-increasing numbers.[4] Then came the 'Bailundu War' of 1902,[5] after which the occupation of the whole Umbundu country was quickly completed.

The operations of 1890 had only interrupted the ivory trade. The campaign of 1902 completely paralysed trade in and with the interior, and greatly aggravated a depression which the District of Benguela was feeling because of a fall from the high prices which rubber had enjoyed in 1898–9.[6] After the war it seemed that trade would soon regain its former levels, and the export statistics show that for a time it did so, but closer inspection and a consideration of other factors which entered into the situation show that this was the beginning of the end. The price of rubber never regained its former level, so that the high value of exports reported represents an even larger quantity than before. The increased quantity largely represented a greatly debased product, for the native traders and producers understood nothing

and Garenganze, pp. 19–23) also wrote of these incidents but with more of the personal element and perhaps less accuracy.

[1] *Relatorio, Benguella*, 1892, p. 13 f.

[2] In 1892 there were 2 soldiers in Bailundu, 135 in Viye, 21 in Caconda (*Benguella*, op. cit., 1891, p. 15). Bailundu tradition says that (native) soldiers were first brought in disguised as porters with loads of goods.

[3] *Ombala*, capital village.

[4] A. Bastos, op. cit., pp. 36, 43.

[5] This war was named in Umbundu after the Bailundu war leader, *Mutu ya Kevela*. He is named among the kings, but it was only during the war that he assumed power. The immediate causes were excesses on the part of European residents against the natives, especially in connexion with 'the recruiting of contract labour'. The best work on the subject is in the nature of a report written by the man who was then governor, Cabral Moncada, *A Campanha do Bailundo* (Luanda 1903). General ideas may be had from *Missionary Herald*, 1902, pp. 353, 400, 452 f., 520 f.; 1903, pp. 22 f., 69 f., 122, 211 f.; H. W. Nevinson, op. cit., p. 157 f.; and J. T. Tucker, *Drums in the Darkness*, p. 122 f. The account given by Keiling (*Quarenta Anos de Africa*) is of interest for certain details of this war, but its statements are inaccurate and its judgements unreliable. The missionaries sought to dissuade the natives from taking up arms, and once the fighting had begun they provided medical services for both sides and sent food-supplies to the garrison of the beleaguered Portuguese fort.

[6] A. Bastos, op. cit., p. 39 f.

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of price fluctuations and sought by every means to maintain the former level of returns. The European traders aided and abetted this process in order to bolster up their credit, for from 1887, when the boom began, most of them were operating on shoe-strings. The result was almost immediate. Benguela rubber was classified as 'third-class' at a price one-fourth the former rate.[1] This was the end of the rubber trade. With the establishment of plantations in the East Indies, in South America, and on the African west coast, which produced a uniformly high quality, the native-produced wild rubber of Angola ceased to have any quotation whatever.[2]

Export statistics show that the totals in quantity and value of rubber exported were nearly as large in 1916 as in 1888, and that in 1918 and 1919 they fell to almost nothing,[3] but for the Ovimbundu the rubber trade ended in 1911—'the year of the great hunger in the Ngangela country'. They remember that many caravans which went out at the beginning of that year's dry season never did return, or that only a few of their stronger members returned—mere skeletons and shadows. *Ngandi*[4] tried to eat wax and died; *Ngandi* killed and ate his younger brother, saying, 'It is better that one of us should live to return, rather than both die.' The caravans usually carried actual rations for only a few days of the outward journey (to last through the 'Hungry Country'), and relied on buying the food needed for the rest of the time. This experience put an end to a trade which was already passing out of the hands of the Ovimbundu—owing to the multiplication of European trading establishments, not only throughout the Umbundu country but even in the 'Ngangela' regions, and the building of the Benguela Railway, which finally put an end to porterage and the trading caravans of former days.[5]

[1] A. Bastos, op. cit., pp. 40 ff.

[2] In 1942, after the capture of Malaya and the Dutch East Indies by the Japanese and the consequent acute shortage of rubber, the gathering of wild rubber in eastern Angola was resumed, most of the product going to Britain. Some, however, has gone to the national factories at Luanda and in Portugal, and consequently there is a stimulus to maintain the production of wild rubber in the colony, but unless more humane methods are used with the native producers the present limited supply is bound to fall off.

[3] Statistics of export and import are given by F. Trancoso, op. cit. The figures for rubber from 1888 to 1919 are on p. 36.

[4] *Ngandi*, the Umbundu equivalent for 'John Doe' or 'So-and-so'.

[5] The Benguela Railway (*Caminho de Ferro de Benguela*) began construction in 1904; in 1910 it reached Cuma (198 miles) in Ciyaka, well up on the Plateau

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

At the present time a day's march is twenty-five miles, during which a man carries sixty pounds, while the load for a woman is half that weight. The gait of the Ovimbundu includes a limp at every step, so suggesting that the carrier is lame or tired. This appears to be a method consciously adopted as a protection against fatigue, because all muscles are momentarily relaxed. Loads are carried on the head in a long forked stick to which they are lashed. When the carrier rests, the load is not placed on the ground, but is held upright on the stick (Plate XXX, Fig. 2). Such a method avoids the strain of lifting the load from the ground after each rest pause.

Although the Ovimbundu have an exchange of products among themselves by both barter and the use of Portuguese money, there are no large markets, with the exception of those at the coastal towns of Loanda, Lobito, and Benguela. There is absolutely nothing in Angola which can be compared with the great markets in Nigeria.

Despite the absence of a system of exchange on a large scale, the Ovimbundu have many terms describing units of measurement. There are native standards of length, area, and capacity, but no measures of weight which are undeniably of Umbundu origin.

The unit of length (*epaluma*) is the distance from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger when the hand is outstretched. The term for two of these units is *apaluma avali*. These words are the plural of *epaluma; avali* means two. These units are used to measure tobacco before it has been coiled.

Cloth is measured by stretching the arms to their full extent in line with the shoulders; the distance between the tips of the middle fingers is *epeka*. The stride for measuring land is *elianga*.

Onjimba is an area about twenty-five feet square. *Etemo* ("hoe") is an area of land two hundred yards long and thirty feet broad. A large field covers two or three *atemo*.

Measures of capacity are provided by various types of baskets. The large conical basket (*ohumba*) has an interwoven mark which indicates a measure for corn, meal, and beans. *Ocitenge* is a coarsely made basket used as a unit of capacity. *Uhamba* is a basket two feet long and one foot deep. The basket on a rectangular base is also *uhamba*, but at the present day cans are taking the place of all these old measures. Palm oil is measured in a gourd (*ocitau* or *ombangi*) of definite size. This little gourd is also used for measuring a viscous substance from trees. The word *ekokoto* is used to describe this mucilage.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

The principal products of the forge are axheads, which can be reversed in the shaft so as to form adzes. Hoe blades, tools for mat-making, brass bracelets, knives, and implements for gouging out the pith of gourds or hollowing out a drum, are also made. Arrowheads are likewise an important manufacture. 326

The blacksmith makes a saw blade, 47 cm in length, from hoop iron. The teeth of the saw are turned alternately to the right and left and the serrated blade is roughly hafted in wood (Plate XVI, Fig. 4). Another product of the forge is an iron tool hafted in wood. The pointed blade, which is round in cross section, tapers to a point used for boring holes in wood, after the tool has been made red-hot. Small axes, many of which are used ceremonially in dances, have remarkably well-fashioned blades decorated with punched designs in the form of geometrical patterns.

WOOD-CARVING

A glance over the list of trees named and used by the Ovimbundu indicates a complete knowledge of woodcraft which is in the hands of specialists. To name only a few; there is the *omanda* tree, also the *omue*, which yield charcoal for the smithy. *Ombula* wood is used for stools, while the elastic timber from the *omanda* tree is suitable for bows. The *ekenge*, *usamba*, and *ociyeko* trees supply bark for binding crosspieces to the upright poles when making the framework of a house; the same bark is used by Ovimbundu and Vachokue of eastern Angola for making bark cloth. In addition to the use of bark for these purposes it is made into large cylindrical receptacles for maize, while its use for beehives is general throughout Angola. Beehives are often made by professional hunters. A traveler notices the mutilation of trees from which complete cylinders of bark have been removed (Plate XL, Fig. 2); half of the cylinder makes a receptacle for carrying on the shoulder. 314

When a small pig is to be transported, four holes are bored in the bark container. Through these holes the legs of the animal are placed and tied together on the under side (Plate XXXI, Fig. 1). This is a more humane transportation than that of tying the feet of the animal to a pole which is supported on the shoulders of the two men who are carriers. 482

In the neighborhood of Cangamba fishermen make and use canoes of bark about fifteen feet in length (Plate LXXXV, Fig. 2). This illustration shows a man taking his nets into midstream where they will be pegged to the river bed. 501

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP1

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OVIMBUNDU TRIBE

Fig. 1. Flute players, Bailundo. Fig. 2. Bark removed for making utensils, Elundo
Fig. 3. Girl, hair studded with brass nails, Elundo

[p.394]